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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 348.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(f), 39 411. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1] Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 278–279; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 239–241; (c), 317; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2] Kroeber, (j), 93; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 230; Bolton.

[3] Stevenson, M. C., (a), 168; Domenech, 1858; Russell, (d), 196.

[4] Parsons, (c), 260–263; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 422.

[5] Bolton.

[6] Kroeber, (a), 378; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 246, 303, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 63; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 263–265; Dixon, (c), 215; (d), 301.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointesa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointesa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[6] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[7] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 168, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (e), 339; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (o), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 60; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 243; Mooney, (r), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (o), 289.
[6] Lowie, (l), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (l), 330.

285
1415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
534 then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
1201 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
1537 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
0614 clan or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kă-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su- [177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha- va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili- [177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig- 614 nificant one in the consideration of the

611 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the ab-
●614 sence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but
[582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for support-
[586] ing them. These marriages are constant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with
[584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as,
[582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
611 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[614] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
[171] all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkuchěku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[182] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though com-
[614] paratively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly
768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,